1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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eanyu ake aajo eaku en-netājo ol-oiboni.

Ore ten ēoah ol-oiboni engidoñg, pe etii 'l-tuñganak oopwōnu te-'ng-oitoi, nājōki 'l-tuñganak: 'Añgas apal, amu meishoru 'n-gejek oo-'l-tuñganak oopwōnu aaoah.' Eiyōlo aii ten epwōnu 'l-tuñganak te-'n-nelakwa.

Naa, ten ebonu ol-oiboni en-dōki, nemera meibalaki 'l-tuñganak; eranyu too-'n-gitanyanyukot, neiruk il-tuñganak.

Anaa ol-oiboni opa ōji Menye-Ñgupe, neibonōki 'l-muran le-Kilepo ooiyōu nepwo en-jore, nerany, ājo:

'Purpuri 'l-oiñgok,
Kilepo ēaraki.
Purpuri 'l-oiñgok,
Naataaraite en-duñgoti.'

Nepwo 'l-muran le-Kilepo en-jore, nēar il-Akaen, netum e-matwa oo-'n-gīahu, nelau 'l-kulikne.

Nājo: 'Etabaiya en-opanatājo ol-oiboni.'

Ore 'l-oibonok pōkin il-Aiser, le-'ng-aji oo-'n-Gidoñgi, naji en-o-'l-Oimooja araki ene-'Sigiriaishi. Ore Ol-Oimooja o E-Sigiriaishi 'n-gera o-'l-le-Mweiya.

not correct: they must wait until the medicine-man tells them that the event is about to happen.

If the medicine-man is going to prophesy by means of the buffalo or ox horn, and there are people on the road, he tells those present that he will wait, as their feet will spoil his prophecy. They always know when people are coming, even if they are afar off.

When a medicine-man makes medicine, he gets drunk before he prophesies. He sings in parables, and the people reply.

For instance, when the medicine-man named The father of Ngupe made medicine for the warriors of Kilepo before they went on a raiding expedition, he sang:

'The bulls that cannot move because they are so fat,
They will be beaten by Kilepo.
The bulls that cannot move because they are so fat,
Half of them have been captured.'

The warriors of Kilepo went on their projected raid against the people of Kahe [1], and captured half of their cattle.

They said: 'Thus prophesied the medicine-man.'

All medicine-men belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and they are the descendants of Ol-Oimooja or of E-Sigiriaishi [2], the sons of Ol-le-Mweiya [3].

[1] A small state near Kilima Njaro.
[2] The Somali.
[3] The son of sickness (?).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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O-singōlio loo-'n-gera teni mesha eng-aĭ.	The children's song for rain.
Ore ten eany eng-aĭ esha, nerany in-gera, nējo:	When there is no rain the children sing as follows:
Aĭ, tasha!	*Solo.* Rain, fall!
Maagor e-swaate,	*Chorus.* That the hide does not choke me,
Ol-chōni musana	The old skin
Oiyeki 'n-guruon.	Which takes away the ashes.

Free Translation.

I

Come rain, and bring
Fresh milk to me:
Which I'll not get,
Except through thee.

II

I almost choke
On that old skin
That 's used to rake
The ashes in.

III

For when there 's drought
Hides old and tough
For children's food
Are thought enough.

'Singōliŏĭtin le-'n-jore.

Ten eiyōu nepwo 'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae en-jore, neñgas aapwo ol-oiboni. Ore p' eisho ol-oiboni en-aibon, nepwo.

Ore ten eitanap il-móruak il-muran lenye, neibughoo kulle o en-aisho te-'n-gop, amu ējo: 'Enyor eng-AI.' Neisililii sii 'ñgorōyok eibuñgita eng-oti e-kulle.

Ore pe ebaya en-gop oo-'l-mañgati, ten epwōnu 'l-mañgati aasarare, nēun il-muran 'l-alema, neitashe te-'nne-wēji netii 'l-alema lenye, nējo: 'Nanu ol-

Songs in time of war.

Whenever Masai warriors wish to go to the wars, they first of all visit the medicine-man, and as soon as he has given them medicine, they start.

When the old men are bidding their warrior sons farewell, they pour both milk and honey-wine on to the ground, 'for,' they say, 'God wishes it.' The women sprinkle the warriors from a milk gourd.

On their arrival at the enemy's country, should the enemy offer fight, the warriors plant their swords in the earth and stand by them, saying at the same time: 'I am the son of

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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le-ñganiа, ten aä ana ten apok, enne-wēji.'

Ore ten eipiri 'l-mañgati, nepwo 'l-muran aaar. Naa, ten eidip aataar, nerany erēota 'n-gīshu, nējo:

Aōmon ol-ari lai, naōmon eng-Aī-i,
Ŵo-ho, Ŵoo-hoo!
Ŵo-ho, Ŵoo-hoo!
Aōmon ol-ari lai, naōmon Ol-Ōnana.
Ŵo-ho, Ŵoo-hoo!
Ŵo-ho, Ŵoo-hoo!
Ol-oiboni lañg, ol-oiboni lañg,
Kiliki 'manyat naamanya 'l-moñgi.
Ŵo-ho, Ŵoo-hoo!
Ŵo-ho, Ŵoo-hoo!

so-and-so; whether I die or conquer, it will be in this place.'

If the enemy flees, the warriors pursue and slaughter them, and when they have killed them, they sing the following song whilst driving off the cattle:

Solo. I pray (that this may be) my year, whom I pray to is God.
Chorus. Wo-ho! Woo-hoo!
Wo-ho! Woo-hoo!
Solo. I pray (that this may be) my year, whom I pray to is Lenana.
Chorus. Wo-ho! Woo-hoo!
Wo-ho! Woo-hoo!
Solo. Our medicine-man, Our medicine-man,
We tell thee the kraals in which are the bullocks.
Chorus. Wo-ho! Woo-hoo!
Wo-ho! Woo-hoo!

Free Translation.

O God of battles, grant this raid
Successful more than all may be.
Lenana, may we homeward bring
The herds whereof we spake to thee.
O wizard chief, bless thou our spears
And make this year the best of years.

Ore pe emutye 'l-muran te-'n-jore, nepuku nooñgotonye, oo'ng-anashera, oo'sanjan enye, nepwo boo aasai eng-Aī, ten eilepu ol-akira le-'ng-akenya.

Nēāniki 'n-gujit il-kilani lenye oo 'malasin naashumye kulle, amu ējo: 'Etataana pe epwōnu 'n-gera añg; ebaiki eata e-sumash.

When warriors tarry on a raid, their mothers, sisters, and lovers collect outside the huts on the appearance of the morning star in the heavens, and pray to God.

They tie grass on to their clothes, and leave milk in their gourds, for they say: 'Our children will soon be returning, and when they arrive they may be hungry.'

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Ore ten eitururo pôkin, nerany, nājo:

Eng-Aĭ naōmon, neniñg.

Eng-Aĭ naōmon en-dōmōno.

Aōmon Ṗarsai nailepua.

Eng-Aĭ naōmon en-dōmōno.

'N-gera añgenn'-álo inyiaku.

'N-gera añgenn'-álo inyiaku.

When they have all collected together, they sing as follows:

Solo. The God to whom I pray, and he hears.

Chorus. The God to whom I pray for offspring.

Solo. I pray the heavenly bodies which have risen.

Chorus. The God to whom I pray for offspring.

Solo. Return hither our children.

Chorus. Return hither our children.

Free Translation.

O thou who gavest, thou to whom we pray
For offspring, take not now thy gift away.
O morning star, that shinest from afar,
Bring back our sons in safety from the war.

Etii sii likae-singólio le-'ng-ōmono e-'ng-Aĭ ten eimutye 'l-muran te-'n-jore. Erany i-ñgorōyok pôkin eibuñgita 'm-ṗukurto kutiti naapisiñgare 'n-gujit naanyori, nājo:

I

Eng-Aĭ! eng-Aĭ! täku
Il-mishiren[1] le-'ikiñga!

Täkieku
Il-mishiren le-'ikiñga!

II

Na-toiye emigira.
Eshōmōki eng-ōmono e-'ng-Aĭ.
Täkieku
Il-mishiren le-'ikiñga!

There is another prayer to God, which is sung when the warriors tarry on a raid. All the women collect together, and, whilst holding in their hands small gourds covered with green grass, sing as follows:

I

Solo. God! God! tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!
Solo. Tear out, tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

II

Solo. Girls, be not silent.
Chorus. It is being prayed to God.
Solo. Tear out, tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

[1] Il-mishiren, the brand-marks of cattle. The meaning here is Break the power of the foe.

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1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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III

Kileghen oilepu,
Ol-akira le-'n-deipa,
Tăku
Il-mishiren le-'ĭkiñga!

III

Solo. Venus who is rising
Chorus. And the evening star.
Solo. Tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

IV

'Ng-atambo e-Koimereg, tăku
Il-mishiren le-'ĭkiñga!

Ōtonĭe en-daruna, tăku
Il-mishiren le-'ĭkiñga!

IV

Solo. The clouds of snow-capped mountains, tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!
Solo. (He) Who waits till the heavens are red[1], tear out
Chorus. The brand-marks of the people!

Free Translation.

I

O God of battles break
The power of the foe.
Their cattle may we take,
Their mightiest lay low.

II

Sing, O ye maidens fair
For triumph o'er the foe.
This is the time for prayer
Success our arms may know.

III

Morning and evening stars
That in the heavens glow,
Break, as in other wars,
The power of the foe.

IV

O dweller, where on high
Flushes at dawn the snow,
O cloud God break, we cry,
The power of the foe.

Ore ten erinyunye 'l-muran te-'n-jore, pe ebaĭki te-'n-netaana 'ng-añgite enye, nerany epwo, nējo:

When warriors return from the wars, they sing the following song on approaching their kraals:

Epwo'ng-alepok ing-orioñgi.
Kisulie too-'l-ñgatunyo.

Yōa apej! Yōa apej!

Yōa apej! Yōa apej!

Solo. The milkmen go behind us.
We have conquered with the head-dresses of the lion's mane.
Chorus. Yoa! I burn! Yoa! I burn!
Yoa! I burn! Yoa! I burn!

[1] The sun.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-Kwafi

Arusha-wa-jūū. Others, driven south, threw in their lot with the Wa-zeguha, keeping tribally more or less distinct from them. These are the hybrid tribes visited lately by the energetic missionaries, Messrs. Last and Baxter, and of which such interesting accounts have been given in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society." Another section of the Wa-kwafi was driven westward, and now forms the colonies of Nderserria-ni and Nguruma-ni. The establishment of these colonies has been an unmitigated blessing to the country. In every case they have become the centres of trade, where men's lives and goods are safe; and indeed there is no more striking feature in the results of the enforced change in the people's mode of life than the remarkable development of peaceable habits and honest ways. This shows what the Masai, from their distinctly higher mental development, are capable of, when cut away from their traditions and brought under conditions more favourable to their advancement towards civilization. As throwing light on the origin of minor races and the blending of two distinct types as at Taveta, the subject is an interesting study.

The Wa-kwafi were not all scattered thus, however, for a large division of the clan kept together, and contrived to cut their way through Kikuyu and to reach Lykipia, where they settled.

Another section crossed the meridional trough and reached the opposite half of the plateau in Guas' Ngishu. In both districts they found superb grazing-grounds and plenty of elbow-room, and there for a time they remained quietly, and increased rapidly in numbers. At last their wars began again. Grown bold, they attacked the Masai about fifteen years ago. The opposing parties formed regular camps, and fought pitched battles with great fury, thousands being killed on both sides. The women stood by and watched, while they incited and urged on the combatants in their terrible hand-to-hand encounters. The Masai were at first beaten, but, fighting with the stubbornness of despair, they disputed every foot of ground. They were driven from the whole of Naivasha and Kinangop, and their enemies, still victorious, carried the war into Kaptè. Matters now changed, however. The Masai of the entire region to the south gathered together and came to the assistance of their brethren of Kaptè. Soon the tables were turned, and the Wa-kwafi were gradually forced back. The great majority of them

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
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were killed, and the cattle driven off. Famine came upon them, and they were reduced to the terrible necessity of selling their children. Large numbers took refuge at Njemps and Nyiro, where they had to bow themselves to the cultivation of the soil. The war lasted several years. At last only a remnant of the Wa-kwafi of Lykipia were left, and these contrived to make peace. Not so fortunate were those of Guas' Ngishu. The Masai swept from north to south, and left not a man in the entire land, those who escaped the spear and sword finding refuge in Kavirondo.

Such is the history of the bloody feud between the Masai clans. Now they live peaceably together, with kraals in friendly proximity.

Having thus conveyed to the reader some general notions about the tribe as a whole, we may now conveniently turn to follow with the eye of our imagination the life-history of one of its members.

Very many years ago a matron of the Masai lay in what is pleasingly described as an "interesting condition." Her environment was not of a luxurious or even comfortable nature. She lay on no better a bed than a dressed bullock's hide spread on the bare ground. The hut which protected her from the blazing sun or the cold night was not built on sanitary principles, and was not commodious. It reached a maximum height of three feet and a half, and might be nine feet long by five feet broad. It was constructed of boughs bent over and interwoven together, forming a flat-roofed building with rounded corners. To keep out the wind a composition of cow's dung was liberally plastered over the boughs. This sufficed for the dry season, but for the rainy one a further covering of hides had to be laid upon it. The doorway was of the smallest, and stood at right angles to the line of the house in the manner of a porch. The hut of the expectant Masai lady was one of a circle enclosing a considerable area, in which the cattle were kept during the night. As this central space was never swept up, its condition may be better imagined than described. The smells were strikingly suggestive of the farmyard; and if the reader is so inclined, he may imagine some charming picture of full-uddered kine, with their mild eyes and expression of repose as they contentedly chew the cud. For any such picture, however, I can accept no responsibility. Outside the circle of huts there extends a strong fence of thorns as a protection from wild beasts, and in case of an attack. Inside

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

The *Lytunu* is a warrior elected by a number of kraals as their captain or leader, with absolute power of life and death. He is their judge in cases of dispute. He directs their battles, though, curiously enough, he does not lead his men, but, like the general of a civilized army, he stands aside and watches the progress of the fight under the direct command of the *Lygonani*. If, however, he sees symptoms of his men wavering, he forthwith precipitates himself with his body-guard into the battle. Of course he holds his office purely on sufferance, and if he fails to give satisfaction he is summarily deposed. This, indeed, is almost the only attempt at a form of government. Each war-district elects its own *Lytunu*. The *Lygonani*, again, is a very different personage. He is the public leader of a kraal, leads and guides the debate in cases of dispute. To be such arrogant and pugnacious savages, the Masai are the most remarkable speakers and debaters imaginable. In some American novels we have the Indian belauded for his eloquence and dignity; but commend me to the Masai for grace and oratorical power, for order and decorum in debate; and, indeed, for most of the good qualities which in these days are conspicuous by their absence in our own House of Talking. Not that their genius in this line is always worthily applied; for in their finical persistency in talking out a question they might even beat our Parliamentary Obstructionists. They will spend days discussing the most trivial matter—nothing, indeed, can be settled without endless talk. But we must proceed with our history.

The *Lytunu* and *Lygonani* having been elected, a raid to the coast was determined on. For a month they devoted themselves to an indispensable, though somewhat revolting, preparation. This consisted in their retiring in small parties to the forest, and there gorging themselves with beef. This they did under the belief that they were storing up a supply of muscle and ferocity of the most pronounced type. This strange process being finished, and the day fixed on, the women of the kraal went outside before sunrise, with grass dipped in the cream of a cow's milk. Then they danced and invoked Ngai for a favourable issue to the enterprise, after which they threw the grass in the direction of the enemy. The young men spent several hours at their devotions, howling out in the most ludicrous street-singer fashion, "Aman Ngái-ái! Aman Mbaratien!" (We pray to God! We pray to Mbaratien!"). Previous to this, how-

6: Thomson K-3. (1883-1884)1887
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726 ever, a party had been sent to the chief lybon of the Masai —Mbaration—to seek advice as to the time of their start, and to procure medicines to make them successful. On their return the party mustered, and set off. It was a remarkable sight to behold these bloated young cut-throats on the march, and it is almost an impossibility to convey any clear picture of their appearance in words. The Frontispiece illustration, however, will help to some extent.

714 726 Let us pause and in imagination watch some enthusiastic young ditto buckling on the armour of her knight. First there is tied round his neck, whence it falls in flowing lengths, the *năiberè*,—a piece of cotton, six feet long, two feet broad, with a longitudinal stripe of coloured cloth sewed down the middle of it. Over his shoulders is placed [237] a huge cape of kite's feathers—a regular heap of them. The kid-skin garment which hangs at his shoulder is now folded up, and tied tightly round his waist like a belt, so as [302] to leave his arms free. His hair is tied into two pigtails, one before and one behind. On his head is placed a remarkable object formed of ostrich feathers stuck in a band of leather, the whole forming an elliptically-shaped head-gear. This is placed diagonally in a line beginning under the lower lip and running in front of the ear to the crown. His legs are ornamented with flowing hair of the colobus, resembling wings. His bodily adornment is finished off by the customary plastering of oil. His simè or sword is now attached—it does not hang—to his *right* side; and through the belt is pushed the skull-smasher or knobkerry, which may be thrown at an approaching enemy, or may give the quietus to a disabled one. His huge shield in his left hand and his great spear in his right complete his extraordinary equipment. For the rest you must imagine an Apollo-like form and the face of a fiend, and you have before you the beau-ideal of a Masai warrior. He takes enormous pride in his weapons, and would part with everything he has rather than his spear. He glories in his scars, as the true laurel and decorative marks of one who delights in battles.

726 [648] With astonishing hardihood, Moran and his comrades, thus terribly arrayed, shaped their course towards Swahili-land; for, strangely enough, they have found that they can lift the cattle with greater impunity there than anywhere else—in spite of the Swahili guns and a large population. The reason is the complete absence of anything like patriot-ism or public spirit among the coast people. Their argument

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
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is that they receive no benefit from the cattle of their neighbours. "We get neither meat nor milk," they say; "why, therefore, should we fight for the preservation of your cattle?" With a consummate knowledge of the region, the Masai warriors threaded their way by special pathways, passing Taveta, and crossing the Nyika. Nearing the coast, they stowed themselves away in the bush, while a few of the bravest went forward to spy out the land, knowing, however, full well that the very sight of one of their number was quite sufficient to stampede a hundred Wa-nyika or Wa-digo. Sadi, indeed, told me that on one occasion he actually met some of these spies *in the town of Mombasa at midnight*. This is, I think, doubtful, but it shows what they are considered capable of; and there can be no doubt as to the astonishing hardihood of these scouts. Stories are continually heard to that effect, thus rendering the Masai a terror in the land; and it is a fact that they have even reached Bagamoyo, opposite Zanzibar.

The raid was, *of course, successful, and our* savage friends returned in great glee. On reaching their homes, however, matters had to be squared up, and the spoil divided. So many head of the captured cattle were set apart as the portion of the lybon Mbaratien, who had directed them so well, and whose medicines had been so potent. Then followed a sanguinary scene over the apportionment of the remainder. There was no attempt at a fair division. The braver men and bullies of the party, consulting only their own desires, took possession of such cattle as pleased them, and dared the rest to come and seize them. The understood rule was that if any warrior could hold his own in single combat against all comers for three days, the cattle were his. And thus began the real fighting of the expedition, revealing sickening sights of savage ferocity. There were more warriors killed over the division of the spoil than in the original capturing of it. To kill a man in this manner was considered all fair and above board. Blood feuds were unknown, a man not being considered worth avenging who could not hold his own life safe. If, however, a man was murdered treacherously, the criminal had to pay forty-nine bullocks. Our young warrior, as he was only as yet winning his spurs, had to be content with the honour and glory of the raid, and he had the modesty not to pit himself against abler and more ferocious fighters. It must be remembered that the cattle thus captured did not remain

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

choice resting on the general consent of the tribe. He whom the previous laibon had held in greatest esteem, and trained and nominated for the office, would normally be chosen. The past reputation of the candidate would, however, be a matter for consideration; if someone, other than the deceased's choice, had proved himself extremely powerful, it is possible that he would be chosen, for fear of the consequences were he overlooked. The maxim of English law, that none should benefit by his crime, is also applied. For the death of a laibon is as a matter of course attributed to witchcraft by a fellow Engidong, and the first step in choosing a new laibon is to ascertain who killed the old; such person is automatically barred from succession.

It has been represented that the above theory of late development of the institution stands or falls on a Masai legend. The answer to that is that very few legends are found without some foundation of fact, and secondly that there are many indications that it is a feature not fully assimilated by the Masai organisation.

B. **Pre-European Functions of the Laibon: Raids and War — Age-grade ceremonies (with certain restrictions) — local ceremonies — tribute — supposed administrative actions.**

Immediately prior to his death in 1890 Mbatian was living at Namanga, but had previously lived, as had his father Subet (8), at Lashaine Hill, immediately below the Mondul District Office. He was nominally the official laibon for the whole of the tribe, though his brother Mako lived and practised as a laibon at Engutoto lol Mako, in Ngorongoro Crater. It is also significant that Thomson refers to "the important Lybons (medicine men) Lengobe, Mbaration, and Lembarsacout," without singling out Mbatian as the leader. If he in fact occupied the position, bordering on chieftainship, that many Masai elders would have us believe, it is improbable that even an early traveller would fail to note and comment on it.

There can be little doubt that at this time a laibon's chief functions were:

i. Dispensing charms for raids.
ii. Supervising and blessing the age grade ceremonies.
iii. Propounding the ritual and giving charms for local ceremonies, concerned with fertility and disease (both human and bovine) and with rainfall.

It is probable that any acts which he performed in the executive sphere arose from these three main duties, which must now be examined more fully.

In the matter of providing *charms for raids*, it should be noted that raids are divided by the Masai into two types, major (*ol orora*), and minor (*ol teamba*). Both these names also signify a group of moran fitted out for war, the former larger than the latter. A third term, which might well be recorded here is *o remore*, signifying a fight with spears, more particularly the deliberate killing of an alien for the purpose of acquiring a reputation.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

726 791 Prior to a major raid, but not before a minor expedition, a visit would be paid by the participants to the laibon, who would give charms to ensure success. No payment was made at the time, but a portion of the captured stock was taken to the laibon on return. It was thus to his material advantage, as well as to that of his reputation, that the raid should be successful; it is consequently only natural that he should pass on any bits of intelligence brought in by previous visitors, and any hints which experience had taught him, to reinforce the efficacy of his charms. Thus a proportion of the spoils, lifted by a combined force of Kissongo Dwati and Dareto from the Lumbwa living beyond Kiteto, about 1916, were taken to Laibon Parrit (16), later gazetted Chief of the Tanganyika Masai, but at that time resident in Kenya.

721 791 The initiative of suggesting such raids seems to have rested with the moran, though the modern technique of an upstart laibon saying "There are plenty of cattle in such-and-such an area, I can't understand why you fellows don't go and take some", was doubtless used in the old days to encourage slovenly sections to action.

Minor raids, from all accounts, were organised locally and carried out without reference to the laibon, to whom none of the captured cattle were presented. The difference between a major and a minor raid appears to have lain not only in the numbers of Masai involved, but also in the strength and reputation of the proposed enemy.

669 791 In the matter of civil war the laibon's position was rather different, as his own position was at stake. In contrast to the usual "We went and raided such-and-such a tribe", Laimer informants frequently refer to the time "when Mbatian called us up to fight the Laikipiak." In the struggle which followed the death of Mbatian, it is obvious that Lenana and Sendeyo were encouraging war for the purpose of furthering their own personal ambitions.

561 791 The second main function of the laibon is that of supervising and blessing the *age grade ceremonies*. It is probable that a laibon at least gives charms, if he does not attend in person the Emboloset ceremony, the commencing ceremony of the age, held by the Kakonyuke section on behalf of the whole tribe. It is certain that he does so both at the Unoto and Ngeherr ceremonies, that is at the promotion and passing out of the warriors. But he is not responsible for the organisation of such matters, nor is it on his initiatve that new ages commence or old ones stand down. As this is a matter of prime importance in determining his true position ,it deserves full attention. The closing of the present Meriaho age was agreed to at an Ol Kiama (or General Meeting) of the tribe in 1937, and not done at the dictation of the laibon. The il *Piron* elders, i.e. those of the reciprocating age — set next but one above the warrior set — are alone responsible for the initiation, promotion and standing down of the moran. An interesting case occurred in February 1938, after the Endungore, or closing, of the present age, when a Dwati elder at Naibor Murt decided to circumcise his two sons, and brewed beer in preparation for the event. The local Dareto, hearing of this, determined to stop him, marched into his boma, and drank the beer themselves. It

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

whose warlike qualities appeal to the Masai. Honey, honey-wine, and ivory are got from the Dorobo. Ivory was used in the old days for trading with the Swahili caravans for cloth, beads, wire, and so forth. Trade outside Maasiland is conducted mostly by the women, for by mutual arrangement they were allowed to pass unharmed from tribe to tribe even during the progress of a war.

Hunting

Though the Masai do not hunt habitually, and despise those who do, they used occasionally to kill wild animals—elephants for their tusks, buffalo and eland for the meat and hides, ostriches for their feathers, and lion and leopard to protect their cattle.

Labour

Although deprived of their only real occupation, fighting, the Masai have not yet as a people accepted any substitute for it, being, as Sandford noted, "too proud to work," *i.e.*, for wages. A small number have accepted employment as herdsmen on farms, and some have done good service in the Police and K.A.R., though even in a military capacity most of them are still unwilling to submit to a form of discipline that is not their own. Though a few have taken to cultivation, the majority have not yet consented to stoop to what they consider labour unworthy of a Masai.

Sources: Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Johnston, 1902; Merker, 1910; Sandford, 1919; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication.

THE AGRICULTURAL MASAI

The agricultural Masai, the I-Loompus (Loitokwo) and Il-Okiep of former days, are people of Masai stock who, having lost their cattle through disease or defeat, were forced to take up agriculture in order to survive, and by so doing earned the lasting contempt of the pastoral Masai. It is in most cases uncertain how long the various groups of Il-Okiep have been agriculturalists; some of the southern Masai, for example, were defeated by the Gogo early in the 19th century and took to agriculture. Fischer in 1882 reported groups of "Wakuavi," as he called them, living on the southern edge of the Mau; at Ndawetani (Ndara series), 15 miles south-west of Nakuru; in the region known as Ngarumen (*in-karwan*, "the horns") for about 30 miles north of Lake Naivasha; at the southern foot of Mt. Horo; and at Kabe.[1] Von Höhnel adds Ndawetani, 20 miles north-west of Lake Naivasha.[2] Another group is named by Thomson and von Höhnel[3] at Tererit; while the map in Hollis's *The Masai* shows them as extending for about 100 miles south-south-east of Lake Naivasha. The best known, however, are the northern group called Il-Tiamus or En-jemusi (Njemps) near Lake Hannington, concerning whom we have (such as it is) the fullest information.

With the exception of the Tererit group, the agricultural Masai in general resemble the pastoral Masai in appearance, dress, and general culture, and though they cultivate the ground, still have the acquisition of cattle as their chief ambition. Those of Tererit have mingled with the Tererit,[4] and have become the most successful cultivators among the Masai; the rest of the agricultural Masai in the days of Thomson and Tribbi grew mainly eleusine and millet, while the Il-Tiamus grew also pumpkins, and tried unsuccessfully to grow maize. Most of the agricultural Masai supplemented their diet by hunting, bee-keeping, and, where possible, by fishing.

[1] *Zur Massai-Land*, 1885, map at end.
[2] *Discovery, etc.*, II, p. 8.
[3] *Through Masai Land*, chap. VII; *Discovery, etc.*, II, pp. 8, 9.
[4] Called by the Masai *il Tapoisa*, sing. *el Tapoisi*.

the laibons into three categories: (1) the private practitioner, who works in a small way as a diviner and doctor among a limited circle of clients; (2) the private practitioner who has gained a wider reputation and is consulted by several districts, and includes rain-making among his activities; and (3) the senior laibons, of whom there is one to each tribal group; these all belong to the Il-Kidogi sub-clan of the Il-Aiser clan, and the different tribal laibons were all fellow-clansmen, if not actually related. Thus, in addition to the laibons of the Kaputei at Ngong (now living among the Loitai), the Kisonko, Il-Ashipaki, Il-Wuasin-Kishu and Matapato also had their own; though it is possible that the Ngong laibon had a higher standing throughout Maasiland than the others. In pre-European days the functions of a head laibon were: (1) to mention war and to provide protective medicine for those taking part in it; (2) to authorize the ceremonies connected with the age-sets and circumcision; (3) to ensure the fertility and well-being of his people; (4) to make rain. In the exercise of these duties he is both an intermediary between man and the other world, and a mystical force for tribal activities. Many laibons also practise witchcraft (as defined above, p. 30). But the laibon is not a chief, and his authority depends on his mystical powers.

War Organization

When the warriors of a unit wanted to raid, they approached their *el-ajeyoni*, who planned the attack and arranged for the co-operation of other companies if a big raid (*el-oreri*) was intended. The *il-ajeyoni* concerned then went to the laibon to get his sanction and protective war medicine. Before agreeing, however, the laibon consulted the omens to see if the circumstances were propitious; and having done so, he gave his consent, sometimes in very after getting drunk. The warriors then went to their *il-piak* and hunted an ewe to prepare them for the raid; patrols were also sent out, and when all was ready the party set out by the shortest route to their destination. Raids were made on most of the tribes round them, and extended to the coast, the Dyiku being a frequent objective. Thomson was told that a Masai patrol was once seen in Mombasa itself. On their return, the raided cattle were divided. First, a number were set aside for the laibon; then some were given to those who had distinguished themselves; the rest were divided among the warriors, who gave one or two to their lovers in the *manyatta*, but handed the rest of their shares to their families. If there were not enough cattle to divide fairly, the warriors separated into two groups, *il-aa-rok-kitog* and *il-aa-do-nanyi*, "the black ox" and "the red ewe," and bought for the spoil. Small raids, *el-enambu*, carried out locally by one unit, were not reported to the laibon, who received no share of the spoil.

Wars between Masai tribal groups were frequent, and formed one of the factors in the disintegration of the Kenya Masai at the end of the 19th century. In such wars, large numbers of men were collected in camps, such as Thomson saw in 1883 near Elmenteita, where two large collections of warriors (he put the number at about 3,000 on each side) were camped a short distance from each other, one camp being that of the Kaputei, the other of the Il-Ashipaki. A detachment of picked men from each side would come out and fight a pitched battle, cheered on by their women-folk, the winning side taking the cattle of the vanquished. The basis of military discipline was pride, strengthened by love and respect of the laibon, and fear of public disapproval. The Masai also had some idea of drill and of acting in unison. Armed with spear, and in the panoply of ostrich-feather head-dress, cape, dangling spear, shield, sword, club, painted face and leg ornaments, the Masai warrior felt himself more than a match for anyone.

Prisoners were not often taken, though sometimes a man would capture a woman whom he would make his wife, or a child whom he would adopt. Men were killed, women seldom. Peace was made by a formal ceremony at which rancing uniform

* Fadiman, pp. 10-11.

/1 cont./

against the former. The El kuafi recognized the chief (ol oiboni) of the Masai as also their own and seem for a long time to have been on the best of terms with them. Then -- so the tradition tells -- a girl named Nkerangé, from the family of the ol oiboni Sinonik -- she is usually designated as his sister, more rarely as his aunt -- took a fancy to a member of a legation of El kuafi warriors sent to Sinonik and went away with her lover. When she bore him a son, the El kuafi proclaimed him their ol oiboni and at the same time refused to obey Sinonik. With this the war began between Masai and El kuafi. They lasted -- so it seems -- the entire first half of the nineteenth century and occurred sporadically even in the second half of it. One of the decisive battles was at Kisongo, a six-hour march west of Meroberg /Mt. Meru/, where later on the chiefs of the Masai took up their permanent /kl/ residence. The ones driven away went into the rugged forests of Meroberg, where they lived for a long time in constant strife with the Masai, until the chief Mbatyan completely subjugated them and forced them into compulsory service. Other battles took place near Ngarenáiv, north of Lake Natron: the rest of those conquered still live there, mixed with Wasegeju from nearby Sonjo. The remnants of the ones defeated in the Serengeti steppe are still to be found in Tavarn, Kalm, Arusha-Chini. The first battles between Masai and El kuafi probably took place in the vicinity of Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, and led to making the latter sedentary.

One of the last great clashes was in the steppe area Segonet: the ones conquered fled to Ngojoka and then further to Usegoha and Ukaga, where they founded a settlement under the chief Lenké.

The Masai took a few individuals from among the defeated into their community. The rest split up. One -- larger -- part became sedentary and formed some colonies in the vicinity of foreign tribes or merged with other tribes. Another -- smaller -- part at first made a living for a time from hunting, until it succeeded, by means of raids against sedentary peoples, in coming into the possession of livestock again. Today they again live wholly as before and are distinguished from the Masai only by

18: Merker--26 G-5 (1896-ca.1906) 1910 PL12 Masai PL12

791 /19 cont./
175 was followed by Subgt and the latter by Mbaryan. After the latter's
[619] death the Masai split up. One part placed itself under Lenana,
the eldest son of the principal wife, who was born before the accession of Mbaryan, the other under Zendeo, who was the old man's favorite son and named by him to be his successor. The people relate that Lenana cheated Zendeo out of the succession in a way similar to how Jacob cheated Esau out of the right of the first-born. Whereas the deception was achieved in the latter case through the tied-on goatskin, it was made possible in the former case by the gloom of the hut in which old, weak Mbaryan was lying on his sick-bed. He thought he had Zendeo before him and instructed Lenana in the secret arts of the ol olbeni. The two are now bitter enemies,
[669] who maintain a continuous civil war, to the misfortune of the Masai people. Lenana, now a man about 40 years old, lives with his followers in British East Africa, in the vicinity of the railroad station Nairobi, whereas Zendeo, ten years younger, inhabits, with his hordes, the steppes of German East Africa. Both are merely phantom figures in comparison with their father, who had occupied an
175 outstanding place in the succession of chiefs. Under him the Masai
619 experienced their last golden age. After his forefathers Sitonik and
791 Subgt had subjugated the Wakuafi, it rested upon him to keep down
• 726 their constant uprisings and to weaken and enslave them so that no
[668] danger from them could threaten the Masai any longer. Through a well-organized spy system Mbaryan kept himself continuously informed about the conditions of his opponents, so that the rapacious warriors could always attack those very Wakuafi settlements in which a war expedition /20/ against the Masai was being prepared. The most trouble here was made by the Wakuafi of Meroberg /Mt. Meru/, who found safe hiding places for women and livestock in the clefted mountain forests, while the men undertook raids on
175 neighboring Masai krasls. Finally, however, the Meru people were
619 successfully mastered: indeed, they even became so pliable that
791 they performed compulsory labor for their oppressors. One must
727 bear in mind with what deep contempt all men of the Masai people
466 look upon any kind of work, which they regard as something dis-
461 graceful, not compatible with a man's dignity. In order to

[Warrior Kraal]

/96 cont./

701 speaking, yet their facial expression usually remains unchanging,
537 neither agreement nor difference of opinion may be read into it. The orator is not interrupted any more than he is forced to become silent by the restlessness of the listeners. Each one is allowed to deliver his speech unhindered to the end. We have here the simple flowing speech, in contrast to the dialogue type of the Negroes, where another respected man stands or squats opposite the speaker and at every punctuation pause, at every comma of the speech given jerkily in choppy sentences, makes known by an unbelievably stupid-sounding, more or less grunting E, $\bar{e}$, or hm that he has understood the words spoken. The task of the speaker consists chiefly of arousing, by means of a feigned friendship with the chiefs of livestock-rich peoples, in the latter a blind confidence in the Masai, /97/ which
701 will facilitate for the latter a sudden, predatory attack. Moreover,
• 726 he constantly keeps himself informed through spies (often old women and a couple of boys) about all the questions of importance for the success of a war expedition, for example, concerning the strength of the opponent, whether he perhaps, for example, might be especially suspicious, where and how one might most easily take him by surprise, where the most livestock might be, where they pasture, where they may at night, where the fewest warriors live, etc. The
701 [554] speaker himself need not be a brave warrior; rather, cunning, deception, guile are the characteristics that qualify him for the political aspect of his office.

[592] Another task is the administration of justice incumbent upon him: he is the deciding judge in civil and penal matters for the warriors of his kraal.

701 554 A leading role among the warriors is played, furthermore, by the ol oiboi (1)

1. Sing. ol oiboni.

(= the bulls), of whom there are five or six in every kraal and who gain their position by courage and bravery in war, as well as by superior physical strength. They are the leaders in battle. As a [714] [534] sign of their rank they wear, in dancing and in hand-to-hand

[Warrior Kraal]

/88 cont./
of the fight, or until one party remains the victor two or more times in succession. The fight assumes greater dimensions if the two duelists belonged to different lineages or even different tribes. Then

Ill. 32. Dance in the warrior kraal I.

the two lineages or the two tribes make war on each other insofar as they live in one district; a conflict that is equivalent to a small civil war arises. Members of these lineages or tribes who live in a more distant district do not take part in the fight.

A war in which Masai stand against Masai is called oi arabal (pl. ei arabali), not en dióre (n djorín) as a war between Masai and foreign tribes is called.

/89/ In peacetime the warrior spends only the least time in his own kraal; for the most part he gads about on visits in neighboring ones, often several days' march away. Never may all leave the kraal together in peacetime; a guard of at least ten men always remains at home for the protection of the girls and the livestock, while the rest stop to visit at an oi bui (forest meal, see p. 111 above) or with other people.

[Warrior Kraal]

224 701 /91 cont./ A few intrepid warriors also leave the kraal, spear in hand, in order to attack the lion, but as a rule soon return unsuccessful.

721 If peace has lasted for a couple of months, the warriors long for war and, becoming more and more violent, express their wish to the speaker (ol aigwenani). The warriors of a few neighboring kraals have already /92/ promised their participation and have also pressed their speakers, who then all together go to the ol aunoni with whose consent the war becomes a settled matter, for the waging of which only the permission of the ol oiboni is still lacking. The consultations and decisions for undertaking a war expedition, however, do not always proceed so smoothly, and they are most heated when they have for a subject the repetition of an expedition that has already ended one or several times with a defeat for the Masai. Naturally then the opinions about the success of the expedition are greatly divided, and the speakers and leaders often have great difficulty gaining a majority for the undertaking (1).

[626] 1. In an extreme case -- if, for example, the war is urgent on economic-political grounds, because the opponent threatens to become so powerful that he will be a serious danger to the Masai themselves or a competitor to them in the plundering of other tribes -- the ol aunoni or one of the speakers lets himself be carried away to secure a majority for the war by calling the vacillating ones el konono, [578] that is, blacksmiths. He always achieves the desired result with this, but in the following days may leave his hut only under the protection of influential warriors, in order to avoid assaults on the part of the reviled ones.

721 726 714 If they have finally succeeded, however, the leaders of the majority make an end to further debate by invoking the en dorosi, a sort of Rütli oath. /Rütli, a meadow in Switzerland where the first league of the three cantons was formed in 1307./ Then every warrior of the kraals concerned has to put on immediately the visible sign of the

/92 cont./

721 en dorosi, the en doros. For the warriors this consists of three or four
• 726 leather strips cut from the apron of their favorite girls, which are
714 adorned with stitched-on beads and, beside them, tied-on pieces of wood (from twigs of the ol araschi and os siaiti trees), while the leaders wear as en doros the borrowed tobacco box of a married man or his fly switch. The en dorosi obliges every warrior to take part in the ex-
703 pedition. Anyone who nevertheless stays away out of fear is most deeply despised and outlawed; any warrior may kill him without penalty. In order to give the fainthearted courage, the most daring ones not infrequently stick a ball, which has a diameter of 10-12 centimeters and is made out of black ostrich feathers, on the tips of their spears. Through this they express their firm determination to attack the opponent and to stand up to him in hand-to-hand combat, for the ball may be removed from the spear point only by one's running it into the body of the enemy.

721 The purpose of a war is always only the capture of livestock, and, to be sure, only cattle. War is not undertaken for goats and sheep. Boys may go to steal small livestock. Only the capture of cattle is worthy of a warrior; he only takes small livestock along as well when he can directly achieve this together with the cattle.

721 In order to get permission for the war expedition, the speakers
791 together betake themselves to the ol oiboni and put before him the wishes of the warriors. None of the latter accompany them, since they would behave too uncouthly in the presence of the great man, who wishes calmness and clarity in the consultations.

721 /93/ The ol oiboni keeps himself accurately informed both about
726 the strength of the individual warrior kraals and about all the condi-
791 tions of the surrounding sedentary tribes coming into consideration for a war, so that he is in a very good position to judge accurately the prospects of victory for either side with great probability. He also keeps himself posted about unimportant and secondary matters with regard to the opponent and weaves all this knowledge adroitly together in his answer, so that it sounds like a seer's pronouncement and is taken as such by the speakers and warriors. His answer -- as the speakers report it -- runs, for example: "You will attack the Kahe
[264] area; it is strong, and you will therefore first hold a twelve-day

721 /93 cont./
• 726 forest meal (1),
791
[264]

1. Ol bul or, if an en dorosi has taken place, ol bul en dorosi, or, in short for that, en dorosi, with which the present-day language also designates every forest meal prior to a war expedition.

in order to strengthen yourselves. Then you will set out for war on the day ol gadet. On the following day, ol ondjori, you will pass an old camping place. Then, before you reach your camp, you will meet a single Kahe boy. Do not kill him, but bring him to me; otherwise you would be defeated. On the ol onjugi day you will
726 fight and conquer, etc. etc." If something does not fit in, it is due
714 to the carelessness or mistakes of the warriors. Furthermore, for the
791 spies sent ahead of the expedition, the ol oiboni gives them a few
789 amulets (e mascho ol oiboni), which make their wearers invisible. The amulets contain one of his magic remedies and are tied around the wrist or to the spear or shield. Another war medicine consists of a mixture whose chief ingredient is snake eggs (mossor ol assurai). A large leg-bell (ol dualla kitok, Fig. 19) is filled with the medicine. In war it is tied to a club and hurled at the enemy offering resistance, so that he will flee, or it is tossed into his herd in order to drive apart the livestock, which then is caught by the Masai. In order to have the expected effect, it is desirable that the medicine be hurled by a left-handed warrior. The speakers convey
726 the chief's answer to the warriors, who have most impatiently awaited their return. Hastily they prepare themselves for the forest meal; weapons, pots, and the livestock needed are gathered together, and two by two the es sirit set out together for the nearest bush. Whereas
[263] in the ordinary meat meals only relatively few spices are used, for
[276] the en dorosi in particular all the many vegetable agents that the

Fig. 19. 1/3

726 /93 cont./
Masai know for stimulating the nerves find use. Their effect will be [263] [276] discussed in a later section (2).

2. cf. XIX, Nerve Ailments: the em boschona sickness.

If the opponent is particularly strong, a forest meal sometimes lasts a whole month by order of the ol oiboni.

722 /94/ During this the boys pose as lords in the warrior kraal, but the girls bravely defend themselves with sticks. Every day in connection with their dances the girls sing songs of prayer: May 'Ng ai make the warriors strong and strongest of all the os sandja, etc. The mothers, on the other hand, pray silently in their huts for the same purpose.

726 Still in the forest the El móran put their weapons, ornaments, and clothing in order. Upon their return from the meat meal they remain only a few hours in the kraal, in order to fetch something [782] forgotten and to take along livestock as travel provisions. Here a few fathers and mothers have already appeared in order to call down

726 137

Ill. 36. Consultation on the war expedition. Brandt phot.

/94 cont./

726 'Ng ai's blessing upon the sons and their companions going off to war.
782 The old men hold a small gourd bottle of honey beer in the right hand, a similar one of milk in the left one, while the women have a filled milk-vessel only in the right hand. During the prayers loudly called out to heaven, they gradually pour out the contents of the gourd bottles as an offering to God and also sprinkle the warriors with
726 it. Many of the latter smear themselves on forehead and cheeks with
[237] fresh cattle dung, while the girls and the old women living in the warrior kraal put such, together with a bunch of fresh grass, on the hut roof close above the door. The custom expresses the confident hope of rich spoils in livestock.

/95/ Then the warriors march off, and, after a march of two to
[252] three hours, they pitch camp around sunset. Several head of cattle
[262] are slaughtered, the meat of which is roasted at the fire and eaten.
[411] At the same time they smear the thrusting spears with a paste of red
[925] earth or wrap them with grass or cloth so that their gleaming in the sun, visible very far away, will not betray them. Finally, they loosen the thongs of the sandals and fasten them on the underside in such a way that the sandal may be worn with the tip in the rear and the heel part toward the front, so that the footprints left behind
704 will be deceiving concerning their direction of march. During the
701 march comradeships are formed by two men in each case, each of
726 which calls the other <u>os</u> <u>tirit</u> <u>ai</u>, that is, my companion. /Ill. 37 appears here./ The duty of the companion is to stand by the other one in battle and, if he falls, to bring his weapon to safety. Five to ten such comradeships combine to make a section (<u>ol</u> <u>ale</u>), each of which
726 erects its own small camp. During the first days of march, still far from the enemy, it is fortified for the night by a few branches of thorns. On the evening before the attack it is replaced by the <u>eñg</u> <u>adji</u> <u>en</u> <u>djoré</u>. The spears are stuck in the ground in a semicircle about five paces in diameter, and against them, on the outside, the shields are placed in such a way that one overlaps the other like scales. The warriors lie or squat in this semicircle, armed with their weapons, awaiting

/95 cont./

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Ill. 37. Section camp on the war march. Merker phot.

726 the time for the attack. /96/ The leader of the section is one of the
[701] above-mentioned benefactors, recognizable by an ornament called
[714] el dorogén or el gabatén, which consists of strings of iron or glass
[431] beads and is worn around the right lower-arm, a gift of those who have benefited by his generosity.

708 Accompanying the warriors are one or more surgeons (ol abíni, el
726 abík), whose duty is the immediate treatment of the wounded. They choose their "dressing station" approximately half an hour from the battlefield on an elevation made known and easy to find.

726 Toward midnight the spies (ol aigedalani, el aigedalak) set out to go to Kahe. On the way they adapt their externals in clothing and ornaments as much as possible to that of the Wakahe and hide /Ill. 38 appears here/ shield and spear along the way. With enviable inoffensiveness they move about among the foreign populace, trusting in their amulets. With a little fresh cattle dung and a few tail hairs plucked from the Kahe cattle, as proof that they have actually seen cattle, they return to the warriors in great haste.

/96 cont./

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Merker phot.

Ill. 38. Last instruction of the warriors before the battle.

726 The warriors have broken camp about four or five o'clock in the morning and after sunset reached dense bush one to two hours away from Kahe, where they now camp. They are highly elated about the information from the spies, rich booty now indeed seems assured.
726 704 Soon after midnight the battle march is begun. The warriors split up into five different troops. The el ebéta (sing. ol ebét) hurry ahead as patrols and, having come close to the goal, hidden in the foliage of tall trees, take /97/ a look around; following them at a distance of a few thousand meters, each led by an ol oiñoni, are the three or four divisions of the el ároi (sing. ol áro) = buffalo, each of which goes in another direction toward the hostile area. They consist of the most dashing men, and the success of the attack depends primarily upon them. Behind the el aroi, swarming out at some distance, follow the largest divisions, the el dimito (sing. ol dim) = herds, the flanks of which are made up of picked men, the el

/97 cont./

726 704 [727] emouerak (sing. ol emouo) = horns. As soon as the ones in front come across livestock, they call the others by long drawn-out ii shouts, so that they will round up the booty, which consists only of livestock. While the el aroi engage in hand-to-hand combat with the opponent, the latter's troops, joining together, seek to wrest the

726 782

Merker phot.

Ill. 39. Prayer before the battle.

726 704 booty away from the el dimito again. In connection with this fighting there are the most wounded and killed. In order to shorten it and take the livestock quickly to safety, the latter are constantly urged on by the el dimito and pushed toward the steppe, out of the hostile area. The fourth troop, the el kigelóni, seeks to keep the way open for them and, from the front, to disperse the enemy pressing upon the herd. The last division is the os sioki, that is, the cowards, who were afraid to go along with the others, but now, when there is no longer any danger, slink around the herd like animals of prey, in order to steal. The el dimito and el kigelóni strike at them with their clubs, and a great row arises until the arrival of the leaders in the camp. [727] Then the latter separate a number of cattle from the herd, which is still common propety, and have them slaughtered, whereupon 727 every warrior receives a portion of meat. The warriors /98/ must 417 lay out a fence of thorns so that the livestock is safely sheltered in it for the night.

/100 cont./

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Let us now consider the defense procedures of the Masai. As soon as it is learned through spies that a sedentary Negro tribe is planning an attack on the kraals, a picket consisting of six to eight men (ed gerni) is moved out during the day a few thousand meters in the anticipated direction of attack. It takes up its position on an elevation from which it can survey both the foreground and that in the middle of which the livestock are grazing. Where features of the terrain obstruct the view, patrols must remedy this disadvantage. As soon as the approach of the enemy has been observed, a warrior brings the corresponding announcement to the kraals, where the warriors immediately prepare themselves for combat. They set out to meet the enemy only if special circumstances seem to require it; as a rule, however, they wait until he is on the point of rounding up the herd, which is always the primary goal. Now they break out, they rush upon the opponent from all sides, and, in the ensuing hand-to-hand combat, they are almost always the victors. There is a good reason for the preliminary waiting: first of all, the enemy's main attention, as soon as he approaches the herds, is on them, so that the Masai are now able to appear with more surprise; then the multitude and the bellowing of the livestock easily confuse the Negro not accustomed to it, and, finally, in hand-to-hand fighting the Masai has the advantage of needing to concern himself only with the enemy, whereas the latter, in his greed for booty, thinks first of holding and driving away the livestock and only then of defense. Thus the Masai succeed in making the defeat of the opponent a considerable one and in discouraging him from further undertakings for some time. If they attacked him before he reached the herds, he would immediately retreat and try his luck again within one of the next few weeks. The Masai would again have to reckon with the probability of an attack on their kraals and would be unable to undertake any raiding expeditions themselves during this time.

Another procedure consists of the warriors hiding in the rounded-up cattle herds until the approach of the enemy and /101/ dashing out from there as soon as the opponent has come close. This is modified further in the following manner: The herd is divided into two parts; the front and smaller part remains in the care of a few

/101 cont./

726 725 boys, who flee immediately upon the approach of the enemy. Half of the warriors are hidden at the rear of the larger one, while the other half lies in wait toward the front and to one side of the front herd. The enemy first takes possession of the front herd, some of them attempt to drive it away immediately, while the rest try to reach the rear one. Now the moment has come for the Masai warriors to burst forth at both places.

[721] The fact that the Masai so frequently attack with great success and often strike down to the last man even trade caravans armed with muzzle-loaders they owe nowadays less to their strength than to their cunning. A caravan traveling through the steppes will today be joined by a pair of seemingly poor, hungry Masai, who greet the porters in a friendly way and willingly give them information about the next camping place, etc. Incidentally, but with all the fabricated details possible, it is related that the Masai had recently been in the vicinity, but had now moved off and were camping far from here. After the two have eaten with the porters in the evening, one of them disappears during the night and reports to the warriors of his kraal what has been discovered. Before dawn he is back in the camp and the two travel on with the caravan, having by now become friendly with its men. There are found again the next day two or three "poor" Masai, who pass themselves off as Wandorobbo -- as the first also often do. They have brought along their alleged entire possessions, consisting of a few rhinoceros horns, to sell or even as gifts. They too remain with the caravan; they eat, chat, and joke with the porters and on this occasion reveal a keen understanding in recognizing how far the latter trust them, whether they feel quite safe, etc. If they believe the caravan is quite unconcerned, one of the Masai guests, on this or the next night, fetches the warriors, who then, as a rule, between midnight and three o'clock in the morning, when the porters are sleeping most soundly, attack the camp and without difficulty massacre the sleepers.

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As has already come out in the foregoing, the Masai are not familiar with a declaration of war in their dealings with foreign tribes. War is rather a sudden attack in the midst of peace, or, more properly, because, as we shall presently see, seriously intended and binding conclusions of peace are indeed not customary, in a state of peace, which the tribe concerned owes merely to the circumstance that the Masai at the time are simply plundering other peoples richer in livestock at the moment.

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If the war concerned a distant area, no peace whatever was concluded, unless it were to deceive the people, so that no difficulty /102/ was to be expected from this side for a later attack on a land neighboring them. For this a few old men were first sent to the just attacked tribe. They carry a bunch of grass (ol godjeta, el godjet = grass) in the right hand and bring a sheep that wears a chain of blue or green ring-beads, en gonodoi, around its neck. These are the peace insignia (en dogitin os sotoa = things of peace). After the old men have put their request before the foreign chief, the latter, happy to be able to make peace with the Masai, gives them a few old men to take along, with whom the speakers then enter into blood friendship (ol momai). Both parties, surrounded by warriors, sit down under a shade tree in the vicinity of the kraal, closely opposite each other, one of the foreign old men in front of each speaker. Now each one makes a small cut in the left lower arm of the one opposite him and wipes off the blood gushing forth a number of times with a few pieces of partly roasted meat, which he eats. During this ceremony the participants swear eternal peace. The meat used comes from an animal just slaughtered, usually from a head of cattle, more rarely a goat or a sheep. The animal must be perfectly sound, about which both parties convince themselves by an examination of the entrails.

Just as the Masai deceive foreign tribes with this blood friendship, they have also often done this with respect to Europeans. Those concerned simply believed that a blood friendship coming about in this way had the same value as though it had been concluded with sedentary Negro tribes, who have a similar custom. But since in this case it is a mere pretense, there is suggested the conjecture that this is a matter of a custom that is not peculiar to the Masai, but was merely adopted from other peoples. The author regards the possibility of a

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619 728 After a battle of the Masai among themselves, the conclusion of peace is that the speakers, in the presence of a number of warriors of both parties, exchange their skin capes and sandal thongs. This is called etabaschage megitin = exchange of skin capes.

• 726 701 484 The length of the stretches covered on war expeditions, in comparison to that of their neighbors carrying on agriculture, is often astonishing. Performances of 60 to 80 kilometers a day, three or four days in succession, are by no means exceptions. If one considers, [702] however, that the training of warriors consist only of marching, that, [276] aside from their weapons, they carry nothing heavy, and before their marches, as well as during them, they partake copiously of stimulants, their performances in no way exceed those of a German infantry troop. 701 182 147 271 The tales of the caravan people relate miraculous things about the speed and endurance of the Masai warriors, and even European travelers have contributed to the spread of this legend in that they compare the physical performances of the Masai with those of the Europeans in the tropics. The untenableness of such a comparison is obvious. One also often hears how the Masai are admired for their alleged ability to be able to give up the drinking of water on their marches. Presumably this rumor arose from the fact that these people, in contrast to other tribes, never carry a gourd bottle of water on their long migrations. 701 182 271 [823] The Masai, however, knows perfectly every little spot of the steppes, he knows every rocky basin, every tiny spring, he also knows where an apparently dry brook bed carries subterranean water. Where water has collected in old hollow trees, and especially in baobabs, this is accessible to him through a series of steps made [824] out of foot-long taps bored in horizontally. Finally, there are a number of water-rich roots and tubers, which, chewed, are very well suited 701 182 222 by their water content to quench thirst. They serve him, /104/ just as the wild honey, not infrequent in the steppes, also serves as food on the march. [825] [136] A cuckoo bird, the honey indicator (Cuculus indicator, called eá joheroi by the Masai), leads the Masai to the concealed honey holes. As soon as it sees human beings it calls with a strident sound and then flies slowly to the nearest honey place, to which the people follow it [825] in order to take out the honey. If the amount found is still not sufficient for the warriors, they bury the chewed comb, whereupon the bird, after

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757 With toothache (eńg ga ol alai) one bites on a very hot residuum [164] of fat with the aching tooth. Pieces of twigs of o'remit (Salvadora [519] persica L.) and ol abalasas (Dodonaea viscosa L.) chewed to resemble a brush at one end serve as toothbrushes.

[852] For rheumatic pains in the muscles one makes use of massage, which is practiced by the women, or one makes poultices with the pulp of the pulverized root of o'remit (Salvadora persica), which [593] also finds use otherwise as a "mustard plaster." Married men have [385] themselves massages by their wives to get rid of pains in the leg muscles after long marches, whereas the warriors scorn this help as unmanly. Furthermore one administers a root decoction, preferably mixed with a broth from steer meat, of o'tarait (Cissus rotundifolia [Forsk.] Vahl.) or of ol logíno (Pentas zanzibarica [Kl.] Vtke.), or also a decoction of the wood of ol gonjé (Rhamnus prinoides l'Herit.). For rheumatic pains in the back one drinks a root decoction, sweetened with honey, of ol asasia l os subertai (Osyris tenuifolia Engl.). To cure articular rheumatism a root decoction of ol ogíno (Boerhavia diffusa L.) is administered. Besides these remedies, those that are regarded as diaphoretic, especially the above-mentioned ol ambóchi (Momordica cardiospermoides Kl.) and eńg aitetoijai kete (Aneilema johnstonii K. Sch.), are also given.

296 Other than for curative purposes the warriors regularly, and, to be sure, for the entire duration of their membership in the warrior • [126] standing, take various nerve /185/ stimulants. These are taken especially on war expeditions and, even more, during the meat feasts forming the preparation for these. One of the most popular stimulants is the bark of the frequently mentioned ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica). One pounds a piece of bark bast the size of two hand-palms with a club and then lets it steep for a few minutes in still hot meat broth. The other stimulants are: ol dinjai or os sogutuai (Cissus quadrangularis): an arm-long piece is cut up and boiled in water. The extract is taken mixed with goat-meat broth. Equally strong in effect is the root of ol ogorua (?). One takes a piece of root three centimeters thick and approximately ten centimeters long, chops it twice, and cooks it with beef broth. The decoction smells disgusting.

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*121 *773 *171 *539 [825] 826 [789]

It also appears not impossible, however, that the image of the fall of man first developed from these views. At yet another point we find among the Masai the belief in a mysterious power of destruction inherent in the snake. I mean the custom according to which the warrior in battle hurls toward the enemy a leg bell that is filled with a mixture whose quantitatively largest and most effective ingredient is all or part of the contents of a snake's egg.

The Deluge

According to the myth of the Masai, God decided on the terrible punishment of the deluge when the wickedness of the human beings reached its height through the perpetration of the first murder. At that time there lived on earth a good, devout man named Tumnaiñot. God wanted to save him, along with his family, in order to preserve the good branch of the human race on earth. He therefore commanded him to build a wooden ark and to enter it with his people and a few animals of all species. As soon as everyone and everything was stowed away in the ark, the downpour began. After a time, when the waters had destroyed all living creatures outside the ark, God let the earth gradually become dry. Since meanwhile food had become scarce in the ark, Tumnaiñot wanted to find out about the level of the flood and sent forth first a dove, which showed him by its weariness in the evening upon its return to the ark that it had found no resting place, therefore the water must still be high. After a few days he then sent a carrion vulture, on which he had tied an arrow to a tail feather. When this bird returned in the evening, it lacked the arrow and the tail feather. Both could have been lost only because the arrow, after the vulture had alighted, was caught with its barb. When the waters had subsided, the ark landed in the steppe, where human beings and animals disembarked. When Tumnaiñot stepped out, he saw four rainbows, one at each cardinal point, as a sign that God's wrath had subsided. Of Tumnaiñot's six sons, the three from his principal wife founded the three tribes; the three from the other wife, the three lineage groups.

/348 cont./
182 731 had been sown with the bleaching skulls of those who had starved and
out of the stricken animals. Any of the women and girls who had not
[348] died of hunger sought and found refuge among Negroes practicing
agriculture, who always like to buy or kidnap female individuals.
A mother would sell her child for a handful of maize and would sell
herself a day later for a similar price, in order to avoid starvation.
Negroes and caravans /349/ took possession of the will-less ones, in
order to resell them as slaves. Many have since come back, in part
through flight, in part through redemption by their relatives, but
more are still found in strange hands. The latter, even though their
blood lives on beneficially in the new mixture with Negroes, are
182 731 669 permanently lost to the Masai people. So greatly has the misfortune,
to which an opposite effect is so often attributed, broken up the
former organization, the firm unity, that, soon after the end of the
epidemics, the unhappy quarrel between the brothers Lenana-Zendeo
about the undivided rule over the Masai could begin. With its con-
tinuing civil wars it acts powerfully toward the completion of the
destructive work of the epidemics. The Negroes, with whom alone
[124] [187] the Masai formerly waged war, except for smaller undertakings
among themselves, which bore more the character of *provocations*
than of serious battles, were opponents inferior to them. Now equal
parties stand opposite each other, which makes the wars bloodier,
more destructive.

178 241 [433] [361] Through increasing impoverishment as a result of these epidemics
and civil wars, there is now going on among the Masai -- as formerly
among the Wakuafi -- a change from nomadism to sedentation.
Agriculture is taking the place of animal husbandry. The ones
deserting the "people" in this manner are founding settlements, in
part self-sufficient, in part supported by Negro tribes, somewhat
removed from the dry steppes, there where the watering is adequate
for the laying out of plantings. No one expects them to prove to be
particularly skillful at this; but Nature, which goes so far to meet
her children in the tropics, helps here too. A moderate watering
suffices to make the batata shoot stuck in the virgin soil grow and
produce tubers. Maize for the most part appears just as easily
satisfied as advantageous. These then are the principal useful plants

4: Kenyatta 1-5 (no date) 1953
FL10 Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

K 701 702 in building cattle-pens and huts, herding sheep and goats and cattle, and above all, did their physical exercises which kept them fit for defence or attack. These activities were organized according to seasons. When there was plenty of work in the fields, the warriors took their full share in it and arranged their dances and songs to take place in the evenings, but when there was less work in the fields, then numerous day dances and songs were arranged. Different age-groups competed in dances, and in dexterity in throwing spears and fencing, as well as high and long jumps.

The Cause of Tribal Warfare

M K 721 Let us consider for a moment the reasons why the tribal wars were fought. The main cause of friction between tribes, especially in Kenya, was economic. There was no war of annexation of territory or subjection of one tribe to another. The fights which were carried on from time to time between various tribes, such as the Masai, the Gikuyu and the Wakamba, can hardly be called "wars," because all fights were in the nature of armed raids. For example, M 721 when cattle disease invaded the Masai country and reduced their livestock below minimum, the Masai, whose lives ● 724 depended entirely on meat, milk, and blood of the animals, were forced by necessity to raid the stock of their neighbours or die of hunger and starvation. In order to save their livelihood, spies were sent out to investigate how a successful raid could be carried out, and in what district in the neighbouring tribes the stock were abundant and least protected.

M 726 After the spies had reported a raid was at once organized, and the warriors set out to get food for the tribe. Sometimes it took days to cover a short distance, for the raiding party

4: Kenyatta 1-5 (no date) 1953
FL10 Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

or parties travelled mostly during the night and spent the daytime in hiding, eating and preparing for the attack. After they located the cattle-pens they slept in a forest nearby until the dead of night, when they stealthily crept through the darkness and took the few herdsmen by surprise. The cattle-pens were surrounded and a few of the herdsmen killed to avoid any cry that would give the signal to the warriors of the enemy's tribe. The cattle were captured in this way and led away as quickly as possible, in a zigzag way, and at the same time some of the warriors were left behind to cover the trail and also to await the enemy who might follow; so that while they were engaged in fighting, the cattle would reach the starving families in Masailand. Sometimes it took some days before the raid was discovered, especially when the cattle were grazing far away from the homesteads.

In this way the stock was lost and the lives of a few herdsmen. We can therefore compare the "tribal warfare" with the "smash-and-grab" practised in civilised Europe and in America. The only difference between the two systems is that smash-and-grab is a frequent practice, whereas the tribal warfare was an occasional raid, with long intervals in between. In some parts of the Gikuyu country, especially in the centre of the country, a generation passed without experiencing any raid at all.

Apart from the fighting strength of, say, the Gikuyu or the Masai, there were natural features dividing the two tribes, such as huge forests full of all kinds of dangerous wild animals and snakes, which made the forests a very effective blockade. Sometimes, it is said that a party of warriors entered in the forests and never came back again, not that they fell in the hands of the enemy, but that they lost their way and were either devoured by the animals or

Sr Abbott H-5 (ca. 1890) 1952 F714 Chagga F714
MOAI FL12

CATALOGUE.*

DRESS AND ADORNMENT.

DRESS. Of tanned goat skins, rubbed with red ochre, beaded on the edges. Sections of skin are pieced together into a sort of shawl. There are no sleeves and apparently no means of fastening the garment. Worn by boys and girls.

Wa Chaga tribe; Moshi Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151005

DRESS. Of dressed goat skins dyed with red ochre, fringed on three sides.

Wa Chaga tribe; Machame, Moshi Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151006

FACE-GEAR. Of ostrich feathers, fastened between two oval plates of leather. The rims of the plates are decorated with a line of red paint on a white ground. Worn around the border of the face in war. Loops on the front are for insertion of white ostrich plumes, generally two in number. [Fig. 5, page [11].]

Dimensions, 6 by 10 inches.

Moshi tribe; Moshi Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151000

The manner of wearing this ruff is shown in one of the plates in Fischer's "Ruwenzori", Mitteil. Geog. Gesellsch. in Hamburg, 1888-9, Heft, II.

FACE-GEAR. Of black feathers sewed between oval pieces of leather. Worn around the face by Chaga warriors in imitation of the Masai.

Outside dimensions, 10 by 10 inches.

Wa Chaga tribe; Moshi Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151007

FACE-GEAR. Disks of dark plumage set into an oval structure of leather. Worn around the face by warriors in imitation of the Masai.

Wa Chaga tribe; Moshi Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151008

FACE-GEAR. Oval ring of leather without feathers. Worn around the face in war.

Moshi tribe; Kjiri, East Africa. 151004

OSTRICH PLUMES. Used as ornaments on apex of face ruffs.

Moshi tribe; Moshi Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151009

*The numbers in this catalogue relate to the entries in the Museum catalogue books of the Ethnological Series.